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III. — *On the Accent of Certain Enclitic Combinations in Greek.*

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JACOB WACKERNAGEL, who has done so much for our knowledge of Greek accent, contributed in a *Baseler Programm* for 1893 certain "Beiträge zur Lehre vom Griechischen Akzent." While Hirt in his recent (1895) *Handbuch des Indogermanischen Akzents* accepts some of Wackernagel's contentions, he rejects his ingenious explanation of the retraction of the accent in ἔγωγε, etc., and attempts to include this also under a new and, as it will perhaps seem to many, artificial formula which he uses to explain the shift of accent like that in μήτηρ and μητρός. Hirt's formula (p. 32) is: "Ruht der Ton auf einer langen Ultima, so wird der Akzent zurückgezogen," e.g. ὄνος as against Skr. vasnás. He therefore assumes that an original *ἔγω and *ἔμοι were thus preserved in the case of the nom. and dat. of ἔγωγε. Wackernagel's contention (Beitr. p. 20) was that the retracted accent of the stem ἔμο- is older than the oxytone ἐμός; that therefore ἔμοιγε is older than ἐμοί; that ἔγωγε (although ἐγώ corresponded to Skr. ahám, accent and all), developing on a combination later than ἔμοιγε, adapted its accent to the latter, while ἐμέγε is explained away by assuming its development from *μέγε and a prothetic ε. As Hirt (p. 33) remarks, this is 'schön ausgedacht,' but is not convincing. But neither do I feel convinced of the value of Hirt's general formula, and consequently do not accept his incidental settlement of this point. The explanation previously (1891) suggested by me in a foot-note to p. 50, A. J. P. Vol. XII., is, I still think, as plausible as any. In arguing there against Professor B. I. Wheeler's brilliant

theory¹ of a 'Dactylic paroxytone law' there is pointed out the behavior of the accent in active oxytone compounds with trochaic endings like *κυνηγός*, *μελοποιός*, etc., and recessive compounds like *ἀντίφωνος*, etc. Here we find that the alternative is strict, either oxytone or proparoxytone — not even properispomenon is resorted to except in certain categories which doubtless have their own explanation. There was also drawn into connection with this the most striking deviation in Greek from the so-called 'Three Morae Law.' In such a sentence, for example, as *οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι ἐμπύπτουσιν ἔξωθεν*, there occurs in three of the five words this skipping of the long penult in violation of the 'three morae' principle. Whatever may be the ultimate explanation of all these phenomena, it does not seem to me that we can as yet go back of a simple repugnance of the language to accenting the penult in words ending with this trochaic cadence.²

In the words in question we find : —

ἐγώγε, ἐμου̐γε, ἐμοιγε, ἐμέγε,

that is, where the genitive already gave a properispomenon, no change was made ; but, as changing the nom. and dat. into properispomena was evidently out of the question, the accent was retracted and we find the familiar type of proparoxytone with trochaic cadence. The accusative *ἐμέγε*, again, gave no difficulty ; the tribrach endings, as I have shown in the article cited, fare alike with the dactyls as far as paroxytonesis is

¹ I venture still to call it a 'theory,' although Hirt, following Brugmann's weighty authority, speaks of it as 'eine Entdeckung.' But inasmuch as Hirt (p. 28) says that Wheeler has no phonetic explanation to offer further than 'die Neigung der Sprache . . . dem Hochtone eine lange Silbe immer vorauszuschicken,' it would seem safer, however enticing this law may appear, still to reserve final assent. I have shown (l.c.) that Brugmann's essentially modified statement (i.e. 'bloss an die Kürze der vorletzten Silbe sich anknüpfend'; see Wheeler, p. 61, note) is consistent with facts about tribrach and other endings; these, on the other hand, so obstinately contradict Wheeler's 'Dactylic Law' as to leave, in my judgment, the burden of proof still upon the shoulders of its adherents.

² Another explanation, which reduces the penult to one and one-half morae, is advanced by Hirt (p. 37), but not with any very great confidence.

concerned. The point in common is that they are both pyrrhics.

Hirt assumes an **ἐγω* and **ἐμοι* as preserved in the enclitic combination, and that *ἐγώ* and *ἐμοί* were accented anew after the analogy of *ἐμέ*.

The lack of agreement between such types as Grk. *εἶδος* and Skr. *védas* (Bloomfield, A. J. P. IX. p. 25, which is quoted with approval by Hirt) shows, it might also be urged, how inexorable was the tendency to avoid paroxytonesis in trochaic endings, and this much is plain whether it be attributed with Bloomfield to the recessive tendency or otherwise explained with Hirt. À propos of *μήτηρ* — or Hirt's theoretical **μητήρ* — *μητρός* may be mentioned the curious accent of the compound *Δημήτηρ*, *Δήμητρος*, where the accent refuses to remain oxytone or to follow the position of that of the nominative and to become properispomenon **Δημηήτρος* in the genitive.¹

Doubtless it would be more satisfactory if we could establish a survival of a more ancient **ἐγω* and **ἐμοι*, than it is to fall back thus upon this unexplained tendency to favor a certain cadence. There are other trochaic combinations of enclitics, indeed, that apparently conquer this repugnance and show paroxytone accent, — *καίτοι*, *ἦτοι*, *τοιγάρτοι*, *τοίνυν*, *καίπερ*, *ὥσπερ*, *ἥπερ*, *ὥστε*, *εἶθε*, and *εἵτε*. These forms are difficult to explain. It may be claimed that the momentum of a common word like *καί* is such as to forbid the change of accent in the new and temporary combination with the enclitic, and perhaps this is a sufficient explanation. In none of them, moreover, except *τοιγάρτοι*, would recession beyond the long penult be possible. It is a temptation, however, to try to explain some, at least, of these on other grounds.

The recent — but now generally accepted — explanation of the accent of (properispomenon) *οἴκοι* (nom.) as compared with (paroxytone) *οἶκοι* (loc.) and with the long quantity of the ultima in the opt. mood, by calling in the undertone, drawled (schleifender) accent from the Lithuanian, suggests

¹ Bopp, *Accentuationssystem*, p. 20.

a possible explanation for the *-τοι* form, and Wackernagel's new explanation of a neglected tradition of the Greek grammarians would tempt one to explain in a similar way those compounded with *-νν* and *-περ*, if the derivation and other considerations would permit.

If *οἴκοι* (loc.), though scanned as a trochee, was accented as a spondee by virtue of the 'drawled' (schleifender) tone (cf. the perispomenon *Ἰσθμοῖ*), why may not *ἦτοι* — certainly the accent predominating over *ῆτοι* (cf. Wackernagel, p. 21) — have been at least reinforced for the same reason? It is, at least, remarkable that the circumflexed *ῆ* with *-τοι* becomes paroxytone. The distinction made between *ῆτοι* and *ἦτοι* by tradition is none too clear. Although *-τοι* be identified with *σοί*, it may nevertheless be entitled to a 'drawled' tone. Wackernagel (l.c. note to p. 20), in speaking of the circumflex on *οἴ*, says: "Im Grunde ist nicht sein (*i.e.* of *οἴ*) Zirkumflex, sondern der Akut der beiden anderen Formen (*i.e.* *σοί*, *μοί*) auffällig, da die Dativ-Locative auf *-οι* sonst zirkumflektiert werden."

If this hypothesis were true for *ἦτοι*, then for *καίτοι* and *τοιγάροι* also. In the latter, as has been said above, a possible proparoxytonesis is avoided.

For *τοῖνν*, *καίπερ*, etc., an explanation might seem to be opened up by Wackernagel's theory to explain the accent of enclitic combinations like *ἐνθά ποτε*. This double accent of *ἐνθα*, etc., is handed down by the grammarians (see Chandler, § 965), although modern editors generally (but cf. Wheeler, p. 128) have ignored it. Wackernagel, appealing for a parallel to the 'Litauischer Zirkumflex' where a circumflex is found with one foot, so to speak, resting on a vowel and the other on a following liquid or nasal, claims that combinations like *ἐνθά ποτε*, *φύλλά τε*, *λάμπέ τε*, *θάρσός μοι*, really had a circumflex on the first syllable, though it was graphically unprovided for in the Greek signs. If this were admitted as a working principle on Greek ground, one might be tempted thus to explain the paroxytone *τοῖνν* and even to extend it to *καίπερ*, etc., were it not for the probable history of *-περ* as an enclitic form of I.E. *péri*. In addition to this objection Professor

Bloomfield would not, as I infer from an informal conversation, accept as proved on Greek ground this Baltic-Slavonic circumflex on a vowel + liquid or nasal, with which Wackernagel operates to explain *ἐνθά ποτε*, etc. Hirt, however (p. 38), accepts Wackernagel's contention with enthusiasm, and not only says, "wir müssten eigentlich *ἐνδόν τε* schreiben, wobei alles klar wird," but he actually finds it necessary to account for the properispomenon *οἶκον* co-existing with the 'drawled' tone on the ultima, and he says (l.c.), "als notwendige Folgerung ist nun aufzustellen, dass die einfachen langen Vokale mit Stosston *ā*, *ω* für den Akzent kurz waren, es müsste eben so gut *χωρά*, wie *οἶκοι* geschrieben werden." Certainly this is going still further than the suggestions here offered with all due hesitation.

There would still remain *ὄστε*, *εἴτε*, *εἴθε*, and the strange *ναίχι*, etc., though *ὄστε* and *εἴτε* may perhaps be sufficiently explained as composed of the union of proclitics and enclitics.

One other contention made by Wackernagel in his Beiträge raises an objection that he does not seem to have noticed. He contends (Beitr. p. 21 ff.) that the Greeks really pronounced every accented ultima before an enclitic with the acute accent even where the circumflex was written: thus *ἀγαθοῦ τινος* was pronounced *ἀγαθοῦ τινος*. This would avoid the violation of the 'three morae' law which occurs in *ἀγαθοῦ τινος*, where the circumflex really brings the accent four morae from the end of the combination. He says (p. 21): "Da ein wirklicher Zirkumflex nicht zwei unbetonte Silben hinter sich haben kann, muss in solchen Fällen ein Akut gesprochen und der Zirkumflex bloss darum geschrieben worden sein, weil er der betr. Form auch sonst eigen war." But in the case of *ὄντινων*, even if one were to assume **ὄντινων* for the pronunciation, we should still have an equally inadmissible proparoxytone with a long ultima.

His statement of the accentuation of the last syllable before an enclitic must therefore be made more sweeping or this explanation must yield to another.

Finally, — to return to the terminations with trochaic cadence, — Wackernagel's convincing application of the enclisis

of the finite verb, upon which is built up his whole theory of the 'recessive accent,' deals notably with a case of the skipping over the trochee. The whole paradigm of *εἰμί* exemplifies it, and the forms *φημί* and *φησί*—certainly the most prominent of that paradigm—are of the same measure: in their case it was oxytone¹ or nothing, unless under certain exceptional conditions.

So, too, among the enclitic pronouns the only trochaic forms, *σφωέ* and *σφωίν*, are oxytone when accented at all.

¹ Cf. e.g. the anomalous *τί φημί*; Soph. *O. T.* 1471.